

A proper reply to the Letter to R.F. esq.
In a letter to a friend

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PROPER REPLY

TO THE

LETTER

TO

R. F. Esq;

IN A

LETTER to a FRIEND.

By RICHARD FULLER.

PRINTED in the YEAR 1760.

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A LETTER to a FRIEND.

Dear SIR.


 T will perhaps, at first Sight, be thought strange by many, that I should have desired Your Permission to address to You a Vindication of my Conduct, and Character, in answer to a virulent Inveective lately published against me, in a Pamphlet entitled, *A LETTER to R. F. Esq;* and which has been dispersed far and near, with wonderful Diligence, and Activity.

Not only the long, uninterrupted Friendship, which has subsisted between us, from our first Entrance into Life, gives You a Right to expect I should clear up any Particulars exceptionable even in my private Behaviour, if I wish to retain a Circumstance of so much Honour to me; but Your generous and unwearied Assistance, and Support of my Interest in a publick Light, authorizes You to claim an equal Vindication of my Conduct, in the Sphere in which You, among my other Friends, have endeavoured to place me; and as Your Distance from this Town does not afford You the Opportunity of learning, any otherwise than by Letter, the real State of Matters in Dispute; so to You, Sir, and Others in Your Situation only, is there any Necessity for me, thus to vindicate myself: Since with those who are nearer to the Scene of these Transactions, and to whom my Character, and that of my Accuser, as well as the State of many of the Facts is known, I might safely

A

have

have trusted the Issue of this Dispute, relying only on the slight, and occasional Strictures, to which common Conversation would have afforded Room; as nothing is more easy to me, than by the short, and plain Language of simple, and undisguised Truth, to puff down this mighty Fabrick, the joint Labour of Falsehood, and Fallacy; which, like the Disguise of the Original Deceiver in *Milton*, will not abide the Touch of this *Ithuriel's* Spear!

BUT this Pamphlet, Sir, is calculated for the distant and uninformed, who from those Circumstances alone are open to Deception; and if it is their Happiness to know no such abandoned Characters in their Neighbourhood, will be apt to doubt that any Man can be found, so audacious to assert, and so profligate to maintain, Facts, and Inferences, which have no Existence in Truth, or Reason; yet such I dare take upon me to demonstrate every particular Charge, or Conclusion, in this boasted Performance to be.

YOU see me therefore, Sir, a private Man, much against my Inclinations dragged into Print, in my own Vindication; a Circumstance which is the only Excuse the Publick can allow for such an impertinent Intrusion upon it. It will easily be believed I should not, were it avoidable, have made Choice of such a Controversy, and such an Adversary.

THAT I do not address my Reply to the Person who has set his Name to the Letter, will not be wondered at by any one, when he shall have read this Defence. A Man capable of confounding all Dates, of falsifying all Facts, and of forging private Conversations, is a Correspondent too contemptible and dangerous, even to have to do with in Print. He wants no Answer; his own Heart can furnish one, as it knows the Falsehood of the Charges; and I am even glad of this Occasion of declaring publicly, I will never have Controversy, or Connection with him again.

BESIDES, Sir, it would be too great a Compliment to his Vanity, to consider him as the Author of the Letter in Question: His
Compiler

Compiler has not preserved the least Resemblance of Style or Manner, to countenance the Pretence. Who it really was, I will not take upon me to assert; though I am little at a Loss where to fix it in my own Judgment; but I mean this a Letter of strict Evidence, not of Conjecture, however probable. The little sleek Animal, who betrays himself by the Heap of Dirt he throws up, may defy the watchful Gardener to convict him judicially, as he never sees him openly at the Work; but the errantest Novice of a Plough-boy, who views the Production, will not be at a Moment's Loss, to what Species of Vermin it is owing. However as the Letters that have fallen in my way of the Subscriber's make it evident to me; as it must be to every Reader, who has had the Opportunity either of Correspondence, or Conversation with him; that he could not be the Author of the Letter in Question; I shall chuse in the Course of this, to distinguish him throughout, by the Title of the LETTER-SIGNER; as well also as that thereby, I shall in some Degree, be enabled to treat this modern Incendiary, with the well-imagined Mortification inflicted on the Arch-Incendiary of Antiquity; who burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, merely to make himself talked of; and to counteract whose extravagant Vanity, the Law of his Condemnation made it criminal even to mention his Name.

NOTHING, Sir, can be an easier Task, than for me to refute every particular Charge brought against me by the Letter-signer; nay it will in the End appear, that I am indebted to him for a fresh *Obligation*, in thus forcing upon me a Pretence, and Opportunity, to bring some Circumstances of my Conduct before the Publick, which otherwise I could not have had the Vanity to have obtruded on their Notice: Conscious as I am, that the more my Behaviour, in the Election Contests I have been engaged in, is scrutinized, the more it will turn out to my Honour. But I own there is one Difficulty I find myself most disagreeably under: Could the Dispute be confined between him and me, without introducing more respectable Names into the Lists, I must be content, for this once, with the Conflict: But he has extended the

Scene of Action, not only to what I have done, and said; but to what he has been pleased to say of me, and for me, to Others; and what They have been induced thereby to say, and offer, in return. I have had, Sir, too much Experience, in my own Case, of the Liberties this Man indulges to himself, in his Relations of private Conversations, (much more extended and enlarged than he has yet ventured to exhibit in Print;) to think myself safe, or warranted, to follow him always implicitly therein. The Warmth of an Election Canvass, the Saturnalia of our Constitution, may excuse, nay justify a Scrutiny into the Conduct, the Character, and the Services of Candidates; but I know no Right I have to bring Members, once elected, and actually serving in Parliament, to this Bar of Inquiry, at such a Distance of Time from the Expiration of their Trust. It is one of the Distinctions I value myself upon, that in the Contests in which I have been unluckily engaged, I have had the Honour of the Approbation of my Civility, and good Behaviour, nay the Thanks of those, whom it was my Misfortune to be set up in Opposition to. And if ever it is my Lot to find myself again in the same Circumstances, I trust, I shall still preserve the same Propriety of Conduct: Nor will I be provoked, by the Petulance of this Man, to demean myself to that constant and infallible Characteristick of the Quarrels of the Vulgar; who never fail, when exasperated by Servants, and Dependants, to direct their Abuse against their Patrons, and Masters.

If therefore, in the Course of this Reply, some things are not so fully explained, and enlarged upon, as they afford me Scope, and Temptation for, the candid Reader will attribute it to the above Motives: I trust I shall not want them for the Fulness of my Defence; and I will not purchase, at such a Price, any little additional Ornament to my Triumph.

HAVING premised these few Observations, I now come to the Substance of the Letter itself; which I must acknowledge to be very artful and ingenious, both as to Method, and Expression; and wants only the trifling, unessential Circumstance of Truth, to be really, as is boasted, perfectly unanswerable.

As the Plan is well laid down, I shall follow it in my Reply; labouring however under this Disadvantage, which perhaps is inseparable from an Answer; that it must be much longer than the Letter which gives Occasion to it.

I pass over the first four Paragraphs, as they seem to be placed merely for Ornament; and also because what little Matter is in them, will be considered of Course as we proceed to other Objections. If the Letter-signer's Conduct is unexceptionable, nay meritorious, as he states it; then doubtless they who have *slandered and calumniated* him, are to blame. If I appear not to have been one of that Number, but to have argued on this Head, just as he has done, then all he alledges against me, in Consequence of it, falls to the Ground.

THIS will appear in what I am going to say, in answer to the next Paragraph; where he states, in his Way indeed, the Cause of my Resentment against him. That he had *withdrawn his Interest from the Assistance of mine*. And having conjured up this *Apparition*, he proceeds, methodically enough, with the Assistance, I suppose, of the Parson of the Parish, to lay it again in the *Red-Sea*. But pray when, and where, did I make this ridiculous Accusation? Let him ask such as I happened to converse with at that Time, and he will find me saying, that I indeed had the least Reason of any one to complain of him; that he had served me, and my Interest twice; and I had no Right to quarrel with him, if he refused to continue it to a third, or a twentieth Time. I thought indeed his Friends, whom he had, by the Pretence of a Common Cause, listed under his Banner, had Reason to exclaim for being betrayed, and sold: But I did not mix my Resentment with theirs; though perhaps I could not avoid feeling something, for the Indignity offered me, in being thus made a kind of Shrovetide Cock, by this great Man, to be set up, only to be knocked down again, for his Emolument and Diversion,

BUT

BUT we are now come to a Charge of some Consequence indeed: He says, he is under no *personal Obligation* to me; and that I *first* violated the Friendship between us. This latter Part being one of the most important and decisive Accusations in the whole Book, I shall consider it by itself; though for the Present I must for the sake of Method, postpone it; till we come to that Part of the Narration where it is again repeated, and the Fact referred to specified. Sorry I am, however, to labour, for the Space of a few Pages reading, under such an Imputation, which I can so easily remove.

THE *Obligations* I am under to him, and his not being under the *least Obligation* to me, so often, and invidiously repeated, (not less than twelve Times,) in the Compass of fourteen Pages, gave Occasion to a worthy Friend of mine, to refer to these Lines in *Prior*,

To John I ow'd great Obligation;
But John unhappily thought fit,
To publish it to all the Nation;
Sure John and I, are more than quit.

I could not refrain from giving a Place to this very apposite impromptu Application of my worthy Friend; tho' the Subject deserves, and shall have a more serious Reply from me.

AT the Bottom of the 2d Page he introduces a kind of Fact, that would hardly be worth entering into a Dispute with him about; were it not for the false and fallacious Consequence he endeavours to draw from it, in the succeeding Paragraph. Whether I first applied to him in 1753 to ask his Vote; or whether I was assured of his Assistance, before such Application; seems at first Sight, a very unimportant Discussion; and most probable to have been in the way stated by him, as the usual Method in Election Canvassings: Yet the Reasoning he would establish thereupon, is by no Means a Trifle; and he is conscious a great Deal of his Merit, in the Support, and his Disgrace, in the Desertion of the Cause,

Cause, will turn upon this single Point ; which he therefore endeavours to slur over unobserved. Hear therefore, Sir, I beg You, a few trifling Circumstances from me, corroborated by Dates, those stubborn Evidences, which will not be forced, or terrified ; and it will appear to You, and all the World, that in Little Matters, as well as Great, the Assertions of this Man are not to be credited ; but Facts and Dates, must equally be overturned, wherever they stand in the Way of his Interest.

It is pretty universally known that some Events, which happened on the Michaelmas Day 1753 when the then New-Mayor held his Inauguration-Feast, gave the first Encouragement to my Friends in this Town, to think an Attempt might be made, in Favour of me, with tolerable Prospect of Success. What Reasons there were for the Alteration of the Behaviour of some, who had till then warmly supported the Interest of the sitting Members, I shall not enter into, farther than to observe that a Disappointment, which the Letter-signer had met, in his Application for a Place in the Customs, which he looked upon as a Reward due to his Labours in the Service of the then Members, was universally known to have occasioned much Disgust, and Resentment in him. And as his Family Connections were very considerable, it was to their Support, and Countenance of him, in these Pretensions, that a good Deal of the remarkable Coldness was attributed, with which One of the then Honourable Members, who was present at the Hall, was received. This was so glaring to every Eye, that two of my zealous Friends, with whom I passed the Evening of that Day, were sanguine enough, to press me warmly, to take some Steps, in Consequence of it, to sound the Inclinations of the Rest of my Well-wishers : But the Apprehensions I entertained, of the Expence, and Fatigue of an Election Contest, of so long Duration, deterred me from closing with their Advice ; and I brought them over to an Acquiescence with me, in postponing, as long as possible, all Steps which might engage us in a Declaration. Accordingly I kept on my usual private Course of Life, and passed a great Part of my Time, at a little Place of Retirement, about six Miles from the Town.

Town. Once indeed, about four Days after Michaelmas; I fell into Conversation with the Letter-signer, who threw out to me some Hints of his Resentment; but on the Principle I have mentioned above; I made no Advances to close with him. Thus Things went quietly on till the 24th of October, when two Gentlemen, whose Names I have Leave to mention, Mr. *Love*, now Capt. *Love*, and Mr. *Benjamin Cooke*, came over to visit me at my Country Place; and on the very Purpose to inform me, of the favourable Disposition, which pretty universally appeared in my Behalf; and particularly, (which is the Point of Importance;) of the Zeal which the Letter-signer had expressed for me, in a publick Club, a Night or two before. They pressed me to come to Town, to avail myself of these Circumstances; and I accepted a kind Invitation from one of them, to sup at his House the Night after, where he engaged a few Friends to meet me. However nothing yet tended to a Declaration; so much depended on the Part, the Connections of the Letter-signer would take in this Affair, that till we were secure of their Assistance, the Engagement of himself, and his few immediate Dependants, was not considered as of Consequence enough to induce us to take a Step of this Importance.

You will observe, Sir, I make a Distinction between the Connections, and the Dependants of the Letter-signer; and with Reason: The first, from the Moment they joined our Friends, united with us in Interest, Affection, and Principle; have continued so ever since, and still make a shining and important Part of the mutual, and, I hope, permanent Alliance: The others follow the Beck of their leader; and by proving their Subservience to his Dictates, forfeit all Pretensions to a Merit of their own, from such Services, as they concurred in, while he suffered them to act, for his own Interest, in Conjunction with us.

It was not till the 30th of October that I applied personally to the Letter signer, who received me kindly, and very prudently advised me to address myself to his Father Mr. *B.* as a Step properly previous.

previous to his taking any publick Measures in my Favour. I accordingly waited on Mr. B. and was received by him with so much Civility, and such Assurances of Support, in Case he saw any Prospect of my Success, that I shall ever retain the most grateful Remembrance of it. On these Encouragements I was induced soon after, to appear publickly as a Candidate; and the 8th of November was nominated as such, at the Hall, by a general Meeting of the Freemen.

THAT I have been so particular on the above Head, may, I fear, Sir, appear tedious to You, and to many; but I thought it highly necessary, in Contradiction to the Letter-signer's Assertions, to ascertain these preliminary Facts. That my Friends were encouraged to attempt the Opposition in my Favour, by the known, and avowed Resentment of this great Man, against One of the then Honourable Members: That I was made acquainted with his Declarations in my Behalf, when retired in the Country, several Days before I made the least Advances to him for his Vote: That I was advised by him to apply to Mr. B. and on the Strength of his kind Assurances, and on the Confidence of his extensive Interest, was at last determined to engage in the Contest. Whoever will take the Pains to compare these Particulars with the two Paragraphs above referred to, will easily distinguish the Contrariety between them.

WE are now come again to the *Obligations* so frequently thrown in my Teeth. *I assisted you at the Expence of my Health, my Time;* and to close all the Rest, an emphatical &c. This last indeed points out strongly enough, what other Assistance is meant; but how the Letter-signer was prevailed upon to slip this fair Occasion of introducing the favourite Subject HIS MONEY, can be no other way accounted for, than his being under the Direction of the better Sense, and greater Art of his Coadjutor; who, notwithstanding, could not prevent him a second Time, from giving full Scope to his darling Topick; since HIS MONEY stares you full in the Face, at the Top of the succeeding Page. However, as he has willingly

ly, or unwillingly, omitted the exprefs Mention of it, in the Passage now under Examination, I will alfo postpone my Reply to it, and only here take Notice of the *Obligations* in general Terms, on which he lays fo much Stress.

THAT every Gentleman, who has the Misfortune to ftand Candidate, in a controverted Election, lays himfelf under *Obligations* to thofe who affift his Intereft, is a Matter not to be difputed; and that he owes them all the Returns of Services in his Power, both publick, if he fucceed, or private, at all Events; is equally unconteftable: But then, Sir, *Obligations* of this fort admit a great Variation in their Weight and Extent, from the known and acknowledged Motives, and Views, on which different Candidates offer themfelves. If a Man confider Parliament, as a Market, in which he may difpofe of his Talents, or Principles, to moft Advantage, his Electors have certainly a Right to expect fome Share with him, in the Profits he thus derives from their Votes: But others will think, that if a Gentleman has clearly no Views, but the Service of the Town, to which he is connected; either by Residence, or Birth; a great Part of the *Obligation* is reciprocal, and efpecially, if it is at the Request of his Friends and Electors, that he is induced to appear as a Candidate. But the Letter-figner fays, *he is under no personal Obligation to me*, (Page the 2d.) and again in the next Page, *that he was not then, nor has been at any Time fince*, under the leaft Obligation to me; and again, Page the 12th, *he challenges me to name the Obligation he has to me*. I am afraid, Sir, this is a Charge, the trueft in the whole Book; and holds good, not only towards him, but towards every other Gentleman, and Freeman, to whole Support I ftand indebted. The only poor Anfwer I can make to it is, that unluckily, I have never had it in my Power: For I think I may venture to defy him, in my Turn, to name the Service to him, or any other of my Friends, which I could have done, that I have either refufed, or neglected. He owns indeed I have been free enough, nay lavish to him, in my Expreffions of Gratitude; of which he gives feveral Instances; and one of them he has even carried on to a ridiculous, and improbable Length: But

But he is additionally unlucky, to have fixed this maudlin, and pedantick Bombast, as the Result of a Conversation, where the only Circumstance, which could be supposed to have produced this overflowing of Gratitude, was absolutely FALSE; as I shall show when I come to consider the Conversation itself.

BUT I professed my Obligations to him in the *strongest Terms*, tho' I knew of some *other Motives for his Activity*, besides my Service. Is not this an Evidence out of his own Mouth, in favour of my Candour? The Truth is, he so readily, and frequently acknowledged in publick Conversation, the first Motives of his coming over to us; so fairly owned, that had he been gratified in his Desires, he probably should have continued with the other Side; but at the same Time, professed himself so pleased with the Conversation, the Principles, and the Conduct of his new Allies, whom he solemnly vowed never to depart from; that I was convinced, or was willing to be so, of the Truth of his Conversion. Besides that I have always made it a Rule to myself, rather to over-rate Obligations received, than to give way to that ungenerous, tho' common Subterfuge of Ingratitude, the endeavouring to distinguish the Merit of them away.

THAT he is under *no Obligation* to me, I have in some Manner acquiesced in above: I scorn to reckon as such, a Circumstance in which, a very few Years before, it fell in my Way to be of Service to him: I only did what I thought an Act of Justice; I had then no Connections of Interest with him; on the contrary, our Sentiments of Persons, and Things, were quite opposite; but I only remembered and mentioned those Differences on the Occasion, to add the greater Weight and Evidence of Impartiality, to the Warmth I expressed in his Vindication.

But, Sir, if I may be allowed in my turn, a little Vanity, does not the 4th Page of his Letter afford some kind of Evidence, of my having made a Return to these Obligations? *Our Friendship was become more intimate.* Alas, Sir, without the above-named

Motive, that *Friendship* could never have existed at all. Under the same Head may be ranged his Introduction, through his Connections with me, and my Friends, to the Notice and Acquaintance of many of the Gentlemen of the first Rank, and Character in the County; which at that Time he had no Chance or Pretence of obtaining, through any other Means.

BUT if I have mortified his Pride a little, in the last Paragraph, I will now, to put him in good Humour again, bestow a few Lines on the pleasing Subject, HIS MONEY. Whatever Right I, as a Candidate, might claim from Custom, to his *Time*, and *his Pains*, yet for HIS MONEY, I can bring no Precedent; it is quite inverting the whole Order of Modern Elections. And yet this very Circumstance has been considered, by most who have heard of it, as what did a real, and uncommon Honour, to the Spirit and Independency of the Gentlemen of Yarmouth, and their Friends. They might, from Partiality, be misled, as to the Object on whom they bestowed this unmerited Distinction; but the Principle they acted from, was above Misrepresentation; is even above Praise.

BUT allowing the utmost Extent of Merit, to the Gentlemen who acted this noble Part; yet it may be said, does it not imply some Want, either of Spirit, or Prudence, in any One, who by Choice, or Persuasion, offers himself to a Contest, which at the same Time he is not equal to the Support of, without burdening his Friends? The utmost Zeal for the Publick Good, does not require a Man to go out of his proper Sphere; and he who cannot afford the Charges of an Election, stands excused to his Country, for not taking that Branch of Duty upon him. All this is undoubtedly true; and yet I hope to distinguish my particular Case, so as not to fall under this general Censure.

IT may be remember'd by most of my Friends, and to them I appeal for the Truth of it; that the Night preceding my actual Nomination for Candidate, I declared in a very numerous Meeting,

ing, the Footing upon which only I would be induced to stand. That if my Townsmen would do me the Honour to accept my Services, without Bribery, or Expence, I would be ready, to the utmost of my Abilities, to serve them with Diligence and Integrity; but that, if the Election was only to be carried, by the Methods too long practised in this Place, I hereby disclaimed them: If Votes were to be freely bestowed, I would accept them with Thanks; but if they were to be Sold, I declared myself not to be a Purchaser. I believe these were nearly my very Words.

IN Consequence of this, I thought myself at Liberty, in Case the Disposition, and Spirit of the Town, did not keep up to the Point we had flattered ourselves with, at any Time to withdraw myself from the Contest; and to return, as I could have done with great Contentment, to the private and unambitious State, in which I had lived for some Years past. But tho' I could have done this, without Disgrace, it was not so with the important and numerous Body, of Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders, who distinguished my Cause by their Appearance the next Day. They were of too much Consequence, when once declared, to be flurried by a Disappointment. This Cause was, in a great Measure, thereby become their own; and I found myself in the Situation of a little State, which contracts an Alliance with a much more powerful Neighbour; I could not withdraw myself from the Engagements I had once entered into. My Plan, (if so visionary, so Utopian an Idea, can be called by that Name;) was hereby totally subverted; but my Friends, who were equally sensible, of this, resolved to take the whole additional Load upon themselves: and enjoyed perhaps, the unrivalled honourable Distinction, of being at that Time, the only Electors in England, who thus supported, for their Candidate, the Expence of the Contest in his Favour.

BUT besides the Share the Letter signer had, in common with the other Gentlemen, in the general Motives to the Support of the Opposition; he had some peculiar to himself. His Interest, and Resentment both excited him, to keep up the *Flame*, as he now calls

calls it, (Page the 2d.) which he had been so instrumental in raising. What would have been his melancholy Case, had the Contest been dropt? Hated on one Side for Desertion; insignificant to the other, from the Failure of his boasted Importance; he must have sunk into universal Contempt. Neither *the Offers from Persons of High-Rank*; nor the Attempts from Persons of Low; *the Professions of Kindness*; *the polite Advances*; or the *you and me* Honour of a *Deputy Lieutenantcy*; would probably, have found him out, in this Obscurity. So that I do not know how far I might even claim to add these Particulars, to the Score of his *No Obligations* to me. Certainly HIS MONEY would have been not the worst laid out, if nothing more material had followed; but how will the World be surprised, when after all this Puffing, it will appear to Demonstration, in my Observations on the next Paragraph, that so far from being out of Pocket in support of the Cause, he is actually some Hundreds benefited by his Engagements in it?

BUT we are now got over the first Election. *It miscarried*, and the Care and Attention of the Great Man, was now transferred wholly to the Management of the Party in the Common Council, pretty generally known by the Name of the STEADIES. He acknowledges it to have been the same Cause; and it was in a great Measure indeed become so, since the late Election had cleared off the Dross, which had been so considerable a Part of its original Composition. That his *Diligence* was *unwearied* herein, I will not deny; it even outwent the Zeal he exerted in the Election itself; for it was the only Means now left to continue him in any Degree of Importance. Accordingly, a Relation of his, who from the Circumstance of his having a Place in the Customs, had been permitted by him, to vote, as well as his Son, with the Rest of the Herd of Placemen, at the Election, for fear of endangering this Support; was now no longer to be swayed by such paltry Considerations: His Family should not be the Tools of Power; he would make good to him any Loss he should sustain, if they *dared* to turn him out; and the poor Man, and his Son, were reinstated Steadies, and joined in the Chorus.

Britons never will be Slaves.

ANOTHER, who at the Election pretended to be a Friend of mine, but from the Fear of disoblighing a Body of Men, under whom he enjoyed an Employment of Profit, had prudently adhered to the Side of Power; (for I never desired to endanger any Man in his Prospects; or to make him *incur Enmities* for my Sake) was now induced, by the irresistible Persuasions of this great Orator, to make light of his former Apprehensions from his Employers, and to list openly under his Banner: And when afterwards, Letters, real or pretended, were procured to command his Vote, on a Crisis in the Corporation, even these were slighted; and a Security set on Foot, to indemnify him from the Consequences of their Resentment. But this last never took Place: The Corporation of the Trinity House is too wise, and prudent, I dare say, to intermeddle in parliamentary Elections; much less in the trifling Squabbles of a distant Burgh; and, I firmly believe, all the above Interposition, is just as imaginary, as the like Reasons, which are now pretended, for the present Conduct, and Conversion of the same Man.

But it is true, that by this Diligence, and Activity, the *Majority* he speaks of, was obtained; and the Friends, not of me, but of our Common Cause, were *alone elected into that Body*. But is the Merit of this, solely his Due? *His Friends* were now become *mine* also; and would have started at the remotest Attempt, to have introduced any others amongst them. I don't suspect he had any such Intention; if he had, he was in the Right to conceal it: Since after he had, in a great Measure, pulled off the Mask, by his breaking from the Body of his Friends, at the last famous Election of a Common-Council-man; he found himself still under a Necessity, in order to retain for that Occasion, the few of his old Allies, who had not then seen through his Practices, to recommend two of my Friends to be chosen; and to this, and not to any remaining *Tenderness*, was it owing, that the Choice fell on one who he says, was a Friend of mine; &c. but whether he is to continue such, I apprehend, is more known to the Letter-signer than to me.

BUT if this Party of the Steadies had not been supported, what would have become, not only of the Importance, but the

the Profit of this Leader? for depend upon it, that is never out of his View. This Majority was not to be obtained, but by frequent Struggles in the King's-Bench: Mandamules, on both Sides, were brought down; and as there was no other Attorney, on his Side, in the Corporation; (a Circumstance, as I am told, greatly owing to his selfish Intrigues; and which at last, rather than give up, he actually broke the Party;) the whole Management of this Affair, naturally fell into his Hands. I am not going, Sir, to tax his Bills; I have neither Authority, nor Skill to undertake it: His very Mistakes proved additional Articles in his Favour; and the Sum total, I am told, was 461 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.*

AND now, Sir, I hope I have made out, to Your Satisfaction, and that of the Publick, that his Repentment, his Pride, his Importance, and his Profit, all concurred to make him act the Part he did, without wanting to be spurred on by any *Obligations* received from me. And that his Gain has been so considerable, in Consequence of the Cause, the Support of my Interest gave Rise to; that he ought to wish the Mention of HIS MONEY blotted out from every Page of his Performance.

I have been very long on these Articles, I hope to make Amends by my Shortness on many of the Rest.

As for Example, the Passage, where he mentions his recommending to me, the coming myself into the Corporation, scarce requires any Answer at all. I don't know it was ever in my Power; the Majority of the Aldermen having been always against us. Besides, his Opinion and mine did not herein agree: I did not see how my Interest would have been served by it; and it did not then suit my Inclination. However I gave my Consent to the making use of my Name, whenever my Friends thought it might be of Service to them; and they accordingly availed themselves of it, as they liked.

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As to the Election, on the *Vacancy* in 1756, to which we are now come; he passes it over with a very slight Notice. He tells you indeed, in another Place, as Part of my pretended Conversation with him, (Page the 11th) that I was brought to stand *with Reluctance*. I don't know whether the Expression is proper; I am sure it was none of mine: I was desirous indeed somebody else might have been fixed upon; but he, and my Friends, were of Opinion, no other could make so strong a Push; and at their Recommendation, I readily consented to be proposed. I thought it a Debt of Gratitude, due to their noble Support on a former Occasion; and if herein, I acted contrary to my own private Inclinations, I don't know that it requires any Apology.

We failed indeed again of Success, but the Majority was inconsiderable; vastly short of that on the former Contest. How this came to occasion such Despondency in the Letter-signer, I can't Account: I do not recollect the FACT. On the contrary, I remember our Friends were in very high Spirits; and it was the general Opinion, and Resolution of him, and all the rest, that if we persisted, we must in the End succeed. That the only Way, was to tire our Opponents out with Expence; and never to suffer them to have Election, or Re-election, without a Contest. This was the universal Declaration; and how it comes to be made now an Article of Accusation against me. I should be surpris'd, were the Memories of any other People in the World so short, as of those who have *changed their Party*. It is their Interest indeed to forget, and to be forgotten; but their Policy generally extends no farther, than that related of the Native of a neighbouring Kingdom, who thrust his Head into a Bush, and fancied, for that Reason, that nobody could see him. But this Accusation so heavily, and importantly urged against me, of *obliging my Opponents to spend Money*, is the more extraordinary; as, so far from being a Secret, lately revealed to the Letter-signer, it made Part of my publick Declaration at the Hall, when I was last nominated a Candidate. I then told the worthy Gentleman, my Antagonist, that if it appeared he had a fair Majority of the Electors of this Town

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on his Side, neither I, nor my Friends, as far as I could prevail, should now, or hereafter, give him a needless Trouble: But if the then Election, was to be carried by ——— and ———; as had been the Case in former Times; whatever were the Event of the present Contest; or whatever might be the Prospect on a future Occasion; He might always depend on meeting an Opposition. I mention this with Reluctance; I hope, I have done it with Decency; not to inflame by a needless Repetition; but only to show, that I did not think it, what I ought to be ashamed of, or I would not so publickly have avowed it, before Friends and Enemies.

THE Letter-signer proceeds next to tell us, of an Offer *from a Person of very high Rank, &c.* but previous to this, he ought to have mentioned another Offer, he likewise communicated to me; and as he has omitted it, I will do it for him. It was on the 2d of December 1756, (I am so particular in the Date, because, from the extraordinary Nature of the Affair, I thought it worthy of a Memorandum;) which was only eleven Days before the Election came; on that he communicated to me an Offer he had received *from a very great Man*, whose Name he mentioned; but for whom I have too much Respect, to repeat it again thus publickly, on such an Occasion; and on such Authority; of a Place, which he named, of the Value of *between three and four hundred Pounds a Year*, and in *his own Profession*; but at the same Time, he told me, that it was on Condition, he, and Mr. B. would join that great Man's Interest, and support C. T. for *Yarmouth*; for which Reason, they had absolutely rejected it. Indeed it required no great Degree of Spirit, or Integrity, to refuse an Offer, so abruptly made, so indecently timed, and so grossly explained, as would have shocked the most vulgar, and venal Elector. I need not say, that I, in my own Mind, thoroughly acquit the noble Person of having had any Hand in the Offer: (Besides that He had not, till several Months after, the High Office, on which this Offer was supposed to depend.) I know by Experience the Liberties, the Retainers of the Great will take, unauthorized, to sport in this Manner, with the most respectable Names: I had
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stumbled, at the Letter-signer's House, only three Days before, on another pre-elected Expectant; and I could easily guess, through what Hands, this *honourable* Negotiation must have passed.

The Remembrance therefore of this former Transaction took off, a good Deal, from my Surprise, when he communicated to me, several Months after, the *Offer*, mentioned in his 4th Page, from a Person of *very high Rank*. This *Offer* differed indeed from the last, in that it was without Conditions. He says that I gave my *Opinion*, for his accepting it. Now, I do assert, on my Honour, that this is absolutely FALSE; on the Contrary, I laboured, with all my Abilities, to convince him, that he could not possibly take it, without departing from all his Engagements with his Friends; which he then pretended to have no Intention of doing; I showed him the Distinction, on which he laid so much Stress, of its being offered without Conditions, to be rather a decent, and plausible, than an essential Difference from the former Attempt, and used several other Reasons, too tedious to repeat; which however rather staggered, than convinced him; so tempting was the supposed Bait of 400 £. a Year. And he declared at last, he would refer it to a very worthy Norwich Gentleman, a Friend of mine, who was expected on a Visit at my House in a few Days. I have Reason however to believe he never mentioned the Subject to that Gentleman; and when we have gone a little farther, perhaps a better Cause may be found why, at last, he absolutely *declined it*.

BUT, Sir, if a stronger Answer, than my own solemn Negative, were requisite, in contradiction to this Man's Assertions, in a Matter that passed only between us two; I should think the Reason of the Thing & to be a clear Evidence on my Side: For on what kind of Principles, good or bad, could I ground such an Advice? If I were candid, and generous enough, to renounce, for myself, all future Expectations of Service from him; yet I had no Right to dispose, in like Manner, of his Connections, and Engagements with his Friends in the Corporation: And if I were the Man he elsewhere describes, acting only from Motives of *Resentment*, and to create Ex-

pence to my Opposers ; how were these Purposes served, in voluntarily yielding up, so strenuous a Supporter, or at least, so active a Manager in my Cause ? It is plain therefore this Conversation never existed, as he states it ; and yet it is to this, he has annexed the Circumstance of the *Tears in my Eyes*, and all the *Nonsense* that follows.

In this Place, I think, will properly come in an Answer to that Charge, he introduces against me in Page the 9th. That I divulged, in Breach of a *Promise of Secrecy*, this *Offer*, which he had communicated in *Confidence* to me, and *some few of my Friends*. Sir, I know of no such *Promise*, then asked, or made ; nor was there any Occasion for one : A Man of Honour, and a Man of Common-Sense, knows, without such a Tie, what Things are, from their own Nature, improper to be divulged ; and how far, and how long, this Obligation extends : Accordingly, I never mentioned this Affair to any Person, but to the Gentleman, to whom, he told me he would refer it. I once indeed, in his Vindication, did drop a Hint of it, to a very particular Friend of mine ; who expressing some Distrust of the Conduct of the Letter-signer, I told him, He had a Merit, greater than he was aware of ; for to my Knowledge, He had refused the *Offer* of a very considerable Place.

BUT, Sir, when afterwards, this very Man had broke from, and betrayed the Friends, with whom he had solemnly engaged ; when he had attempted to set up a groundless, and frivolous Quarrel with me, as a Pretence for his Behaviour ; when I had Reason to think some fresh *Offer*, of the like kind, tho' perhaps more beneficial, had prevailed at last, on that Virtue, which the former had staggered ; I held myself under no farther Obligation of Concealment ; especially as what I could tell, reflected no Dishonour on my Informer ; he had refused, as far as my Story reached ; and I was surely under no Tie, to keep the *Secret* of his Corrupters.

BUT more than all this, *I disclosed it to the Person, I thought would be most affected by it*. It is true, I did ; but what is this to the Letter-signer ?

ter-signer? In the Attempts to seduce a Friend from me, some Neglect and Slight, seemed to have been offered to a very considerable, and worthy Gentleman, elsewhere, by disposing of a Place he had a Share in, without his Participation.——The Obligations, Sir, I receive in Yarmouth, I should be glad to retaliate in any other Part of the County.

It was from this Conversation, I learned perhaps, the real Reason of the Letter-signer's *declining the Offer*, at last. So far from being worth 400 l. a Year, it was not worth Fourscore; it is not vacant even to this Hour; nor can the Possessor be deprived of it, without his own Consent.

BUT though the Letter-signer, in Page the 4th, *was grown quite weary of his Share in Election Contests*, yet, in the next Page, we find him *concurring earnestly in forwarding a Scheme*, which would have *rendered my Success infallible*. The Scheme was, on the Strength of the certain *Majority*, which our Friends had now obtained in the Corporation, to create such a Number of Freemen, as should over-balance the Weight of the Outliers, whom our Opponents had always been able to bring down upon us, to turn the Fate of Elections: And to this Purpose, all the considerable Gentlemen of our own, and the neighbouring County, with whom I had had the Honour of an Acquaintance, and Friendship, from my first Entrance into Life; many of the principal Inhabitants of *Norwich*, who had most zealously, and generously distinguished themselves, in our Support, in our late Contests; and a good many of our own considerable Townsmen, Friends, and Well-wishers to the Common Cause, were to have made up a List on the Occasion. My Friends, who seemed to have derived a Recruit of Spirits and Vigour, from their very Defeats; were zealously, and unanimously for it, But, if I may say it, without incurring the Censure of Vanity, I believe, it was only their partial Attachment to my Cause, which made them overlook the real, and unanswerable Objections against it. That the only *Opposition to it* should arise from *me*, I hope such of my Friends, as were to have received

ed this Compliment, will pardon, when they reflect that nothing, but a Dislike to this Measure, as unconstitutional, could bias me so strongly against my own apparent Interest in it: But I had always considered, and treated the making occasional Freemen, to carry a Point, as one of the most fatal Strokes to the Freedom of Elections; I had inveighed against it, wherever it had been practised; and I scorned to suffer my Judgment, or my Principles, to be warped, by the Utility of it, to my own private Cause. Accordingly, I declared against it, to the Hazard of, nay to the actual incurring, the Resentment of many of my Friends; and when the Letter-signer gave out, that it should be done, without my Consent; after soliciting several (to whom I can refer) to oppose it; I at last sent a Message, by Mr. B. C. to the Meeting of the Steadies, that if this Measure were taken, I would never be a Candidate for the Town again.

I hope, and trust, my Friends, however displeased at first, are by this Time convinced of the Propriety, and Disinterestedness of my Conduct herein: Nay it has even extorted a Kind of Approbation from the Letter-writer, and Letter-signer; though they have thrown in an Objection, which they expect will take off all the Merit from it: But as the Answer to it is easy, clear, and indisputable, I shall perhaps, put in my Claim to their unwilling Verdict, in my Favour, if I think it worth my while.

THE Objection is, that I appeared, *soon after*, at a Place fifty Miles distant, where I concurred in *this very Measure*, and even gave *it the Sanction of my Name*.

THE *soon after*, happens in the first Place, to have been a good while before My Letter of Notification, from the Town Clerk of Ipswich, of my being admitted to the Freedom of that Corporation, bears date August the 26th 1755, and I took it up the 8th of September following, at the Election of Bailiffs: Whereas the Election for a Member for Yarmouth, was not till December the 13th 1756.

HAD this Mistake been accidental, it should have passed unnoticed; but all these false Dates, are designed, only to ground as false Reasoning upon them. Thus, had the Time of my accepting a Freedom at *Ipswich*, been owned to have been at least fifteen Months before; how could it have been made, by these Writers, a Handle to take off from the Opinion, they professed to have entertained, at first, of the *most honourable Motives*, on which I grounded my *Opposition*, to the making Freeman at *Yarmouth*?

AGAIN in the same Paragraph, *I concurred in that very Measure, AND even gave it the Sanction, &c.* Now, is not this Way of wording meant to insinuate, that here were two Facts? That I first concurred in the Resolution, and afterward accepted of being made a Freeman? And yet the Truth is far otherwise, as will appear, by my Narrative of this Transaction, to which I shall now proceed.

ON the 23d of June 1755, as I was setting out for *Beccles* Races, I met a worthy Clergyman of this Town, who has some Relations at *Ipswich*, who wished me Joy of being made a Freeman there, and told me, I had been so nominated, with several others; my Reply was, that I knew nothing of it, and disapproved the Measure.

WHEN I got to *Beccles*, the Subject was renewed; and I renewed my Expressions of Dislike to it, in very strong Terms, to several of the principal Gentlemen; and particularly to my old Friend, the then Knight of the Shire: Nay I declared, that if at any Time hereafter, the Gentlemen on the other Side, should propose an equal Number of their Friends, to be made Freeman, I would vote for the List: I accepted however at last, of this Freedom; as the Measure was past Recall, and my Refusal was insignificant, and might have been looked upon as selfish, and ungrateful. But pray Sir, is there any Thing parallel in the two Cases? In one, the Measure was taken, without my Knowledge, and I had neither Right, nor Power to oppose it: In the Other, I was acquainted with the Design, and it was openly avowed to be done solely for my Sake: Here my Opposition might be, and was effectual; and let it be remembered,

my Enemies themselves allow it was *laid aside* for this very Reason. But, Sir, though these Observations are fully sufficient, to clear up the Consistency of my Conduct, on the two Occasions; yet the most material Difference is still behind. I mean the Manner, in which the Freemen are made, in the two several Towns. At *Yarmouth*, they are made in an Assembly of the Select Body of Aldermen, and Common Council only; of whom no more than ten Aldermen, and nineteen Common-Council-men, are necessary to constitute such Assembly. Fifteen therefore of these, Sir, fifteen *Wissps of Straw* (to use a Phrase of the Letter-signer's begetting, though fathered upon me;) in Aldermen, and Common-Council-men's Gowns, under the Charm of this Circean Leader, might overturn the Birthrights and Privileges of a Body of 1000. or 1200 Freemen; tho' every Man of them stood at the Door, to petition, and protest against such an Invasion.

BUT at *Ipswich*, Sir, the Case is quite different; no Freeman can there be made but at their *Great Court*, which consists of the whole Body of Freemen; every one of whom has a Right to oppose, and vote against such a Measure, if he think proper, and with equal Weight, and Effect, as any of the superior Officers of the Corporation. If therefore the Freemen of *Ipswich* chuse to communicate their Privileges, to any Body of Gentlemen, they have an Esteem for; if they adopt their Neighbours, in Town, or Country, into a Participation of their Rights, no Injury is done but to themselves, and to none else are they accountable for it.

BUT if this essential Difference in the two Cases, had not vindicated my Conduct, from the Charge of Inconsistency; how would the Solution of the Letter-signer at all have accounted for it, as he pretends, from my last Conversation with him; even as stated by himself? He says, I owned to him, I did not wish *myself* to be chosen; and only wanted to oblige my Opponents to *spend Money*: Now, Sir, surely the Scheme, thus rejected by me, was plainly applicable to both these Points. A Number of Gentlemen, of great Rank, and Fortune, thus made Freemen here, must have put the

the Candidates on the other Side, to a vast additional Expence, to procure, or bring in, a sufficient Number of the old Voters, to counterpoise them. And when once this Body of Gentlemen had acquired this Connection with the Town, it is not unlikely, some amongst them might have been induced to go one Step farther, and even accepted of becoming Candidates; to which their Property, and Character, would have given them so just a Title.

THUS You see, Sir, his Reasoning for me, is just as inconclusive, as his Reasoning against me; but you will find he reasons, and plans much better for himself. The above Measure, so obstinately opposed by me, though enforced by all his Powers of Oratory, on every Occasion, even to downright tiring, and teasing, was not, as now appears, so much calculated for my Success, as it was for encreasing his own Price, and Importance. My Friends were too generally deceived by his Reasonings, too blinded by their eager Wishes in my Behalf, to perceive the Gulph into which he was leading them. The Freemen of the Town were a Body too numerous, to be easily managed, or speedily turned about, on a Crisis; but the Assembly, from the comparative Smallness of their Numbers, answered better for such Purposes: When once the Ice had been broken, and a set of honorary Freemen introduced, the Right of electing Members of Parliament, had from that Moment been virtually transferred, from the Freemen at large, where it had hitherto resided, to the select Body of the Corporation only: For they who can create Freemen, without Limitation, can always determine the Fate of Elections; and might as well, be the only original Voters therein.

How then would this Scheme have rendered my Success infallible? Would the Steadiness of this Man have probably increased with his Consequence? Would the Temptations have been offered more sparingly, as his Importance was become greater? Could he ever have been at a Loss, to pick a Quarrel, frivolous, as that now alledged, will appear to be? No, Sir, the Business might

might have been done at once, not by slow Degrees, as at present: Another List of Freemen, on the Side of his new Friends, had set all to Rights: And the Town of *Yarmouth*, as *Caligula* cruelly wished, to the People of *Rome*, had tendered but one Throat to the expeditious Destroyer.

WHAT would have been the Case of the original Freemen of this Town, had this Scheme taken Place? Their Birth-right, or the Acquisition of their Service, had been destroyed, or overborn, by these Auxiliaries on both Sides: A Hundred to secure the Election to one Party; Double the Number to counterbalance them in Behalf of the Other: And the same again, and again repeated, as often as the Necessities, or Wantonness of Faction, should require so ruinous, tho' so cheap an Expedient.

THAT this Attempt therefore was laid aside, the Letter-signer confesses, was owing to me; and sure I may venture on this Occasion, to appeal to my Brethren, the Freemen of both Parties, for their Judgment, on the Rectitude of my Conduct herein: Nay, for once, in their Cause, I will appeal even to the Letter-signer himself, and in the Words of Dryden's *Don Sebastian*, addressed also to a Renegade.

Confess proud Spirit;
For I will have it from thy very Mouth;
That better I deserve their Love than THOU.

THIS seems to be a proper Place, to consider at full the Accusation brought against me in Page the 2d, and again in the Recapitulation, in Page the 11th, that *I first* violated the Friendship between us; because, having sometime since observed to You, with how great Zeal, and Activity, even superior to that he displayed in the Election of Members, he exerted himself in the Support, and Management of the Party, in the Corporation; and having lately pointed out, the important View, he probably had in it, to his own private Advantage; it will in some Manner Account, for his laying
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great a Stress, on the exclusive Dictatorial Power he had assumed, as to consider the least Encroachment there, as an absolute Breach of all Ties, and Obligations with him. The Part my Friends acted on this Occasion, tho' stigmatized by him, as *dark, undermining, and ungrateful*; is so capable of the clearest Defence, that unwillingly, I restrain my Pen from entering upon it. But as this Letter is already swelled to an enormous Size, I dare not trespass on your Patience, and the Publick's, for any more, than what will necessarily arise from my own Vindication. He *distinguished*, he says, *between Me and Them*: I will therefore confine myself to two Points, properly my own; the first, the Fact; that I did not in the least intermeddle herein. The second, that though I had done so, the Letter-signer had no Right, or Pretence, to be angry with me for it.

THAT I did not intermeddle in the *Transaction*, is only capable of negative Proof; I do therefore call upon any one, to say, that I ever asked, solicited, hinted a Wish; or even entered into a Conversation, on the Subject of the Nomination of the Gentleman alluded to in this Dispute. I always looked upon it, as an Advantage I derived, from the Circumstance of my being out of the Corporation, that I was not obliged to take Part in Embroils of this Kind. It was at *Norwich*, the beginning of February, that I was told, by the Gentleman himself, of the Resolution that had been taken, at an accidental Meeting, at the House of a Relation of his, in an Evening's chearful Conversation, to put him up for Common-Council-Man. I laughed with him on the Communication, and told him bantering, though it since appears prophetically; that his Friend —— would not suffer him to come in. From that Moment, it never entered into my Thoughts again, till the first Sunday in March, when the same Gentleman called upon me, to tell me, that as it was a Respect usually paid to the Mayor, to acquaint him beforehand, with what was intended to be proposed, in the Meeting of the Steadies, he begged of me, as I was intimate with Him, that I would mention it to Him. I could not refuse this Request, to a Person who had

second to none in his Zeal, and Activity in my Service ; it was not swerving from my Point, of not intermeddling in these Matters ; for it was a mere Compliment, and quite insignificant as to the Success ; the Mayor having no Vote in the Question ; which rested solely in the Common-Council-men. I was so far from suspecting what I had done herein, was likely to disgust the Letter signer, that I freely told him of it, in the Conversation I had with him soon after ; and it was from me only he learned this Particular.

BUT I am defending myself against a Shadow of a Charge ; for the second Point is sufficient for an Answer to both. Supposing I had really interested myself in this Affair, what Right had the Letter-signer to call me to an Account for it ? Did he *presume* that my Connections with him *precluded* me from every other Friendship ? The Gentleman in Question, had been one of my oldest Friends, as were all his Family, at a Time when the Letter-signer was a little Understrapper in the Cause of Corruption, on the other Side : He came over to us from no Disappointment of a Place : He lay under no possible Suspicion of an Inclination to desert us : So that if I have any Apology necessary to make, it would seem to be to Him and his Friends, for not more avowedly supporting Him. As to his being *in Opposition* to the Letter-signer, I know of no such Thing. What Scheme, which he will own ; was the Other an Enemy to ? They were indeed of the same Trade, and consequently did not always agree ; but they met, six Nights a Week, in the same Company, and appeared united in the same Cause. The Letter signer had applied to him, more than once, for his Assistance, in the Support of his Measures, attended with some Expence, and had succeeded in it ; nay at that very Moment, carried a Voter against him, who had been secured by an Equivalent, towards which this Gentleman was a liberal Contributor.

BUT if all these Reasonings were of no Weight, the very Constitution of the Steadies was decisive in favour of the Gentleman proposed. I know of no fundamental Points they were distinguished

guished by, except these two: that a Person, once sent up to the Aldermen, was constantly to continue on the List, till he was accepted by them; the other, that whatever was agreed to by a Majority in their Meeting, was to be unanimously supported in Assembly by the whole Body. But what are fundamental Points against a Dispensing Power? Or what are Majorities even of 13 to 4, (the Numbers on that Occasion) if the GOVERNOR is not *Quorum unus*?

Two Days after the previous Question, as he stiles it, had been carried against him, he called upon me to talk the Matter over. I saw he was hurt, but did not suspect to what Degree: I found he was angry, but did not imagine it was with me. I rallied him on his Jealousy, and Apprehension of his Competitor; who, I frankly owned, was not likely to be a formidable Rival to him, in the Government of the Party. But that I spoke of that Gentleman, any otherwise with Contempt; or used the Expression, comparing him, to a *Whisp of Straw*; I solemnly declare to be absolutely FALSE, and one of the unbounded Latitudes, he so frequently indulges his Invention in. Indeed, if I had been disposed to have introduced a lowering Similitude of my worthy Friend, I should rather have compared him to a Faggot of Furze, which the other could not have managed, without running the Risk of pricking his Fingers in the Attempt. We parted to my Apprehension, as good Friends as we met; and tho' he declared, he thought himself ill used, and would not put it up; I understood him to mean no more, than that he would endeavour to get off some of the Friends of the new Candidate, and not in the least, that he entertained a Thought of joining the other Side.

BUT the Event showed I was mistaken: And yet a Man might read his Letter again, and again, and not discover the full Extent of the Transaction, so artfully is it flurred over. *The Majority of the Common Council appeared disposed to support my Cause.* Who would imagine from this, that he had deserted all his old sworn Friends, and Allies; except the very few he carried with him; and joynd

joyned himself, at once, to those he had so virulently opposed? Much Good may such a Triumph do him; few will envy him, even without the universal Hatred and Contempt, he has incurred thereby.

You must observe, Sir, I have avoided mentioning any Thing of his Conversation, relating to me, at London, and which he pretends to have introduced as a Part of our Discourse, at the above expostulatory Meeting. The Fact is not quite true, even as to this; for it was only a Remnant of it, he then communicated; the Beginning having been enter'd into by us, some Time before. But I choose to consider it all together, and not retail it Piecemeal, as he, for Reasons best known to himself, affected to do.

THE Merits of a worthy Gentleman; the Means by which he became acquainted with him; his Call to *London*, I shall not enter upon. But his meeting with the same Gentleman there, I appear to be nearly interested in.

HE sets out with an untrue Charge, as usual, upon me; that I alledged, *he fell into that Gentleman's Company at his House*. Sir, I never knew, or pretended to know any Thing about it, but what I heard from himself. Indeed his Story was not the same then, as now. He told me, he met the Gentleman, somewhere or other, by Accident, in the Street, he could not tell the Place; but believed it was near the Hay-market: That after a few general Civilities, they went, at his, the Letter signer's Proposal, into a Tavern just by, but which also he did not know the Name of. Now the Story is varied; The Tavern-Meeting was by Appointment, and *Invitation*. I really incline to believe the latter Account; not because it is in Print, but because it is most probable, as so able a Mediator was then in Town, that an Event of this Consequence, was not left to the Chance of an Accidental Meeting in the Street.

As to the *Conversation* itself, as far as the Share the worthy Member had in it, I have no ground of Complaint against Him. He had

had been told, that I was of more Importance in the Dispute at *Yarmouth*, than I either pretend, or wish to be : That, if I were once quieted, the Contest must drop : No Wonder therefore He was desirous to *confer an Obligation on me*. The *Delicacy*, and *obliging Manner*, with which He proposed to accompany it, I can easily believe, without the Letter-signer's Evidence ; as I have experienced His Politeness ; and am not a Stranger to the Character, His Abilities, and Merit, have gained him in the World.

BUT the Case is very different with the Letter-signer ; whether we consider him, as undertaking this Negotiation, without Authority ; or the Manner in which, according to his own Relation of the Matter, he conducted what he had thus assumed the Management of.

IN the first Place, is any Thing more officious, nay impertinent, than to make thus free with a Gentleman's Name, without any Pretence of Warrant from him ? To talk of what he would like, or be averse to ? what would suit his Inclinations, or his Convenience, without having sounded him at all on the Subject ? and this in no less a Point, than the selling Himself, and all his Friends.

BUT having signed his own full Powers, let us see how this self-created Negotiator proceeds.

THE first *Object* he mentioned, (the securing a Seat in Parliament for me,) which he had always declared to be so essential a Point, as to be a Kind of Preliminary in any Treaty, seems to have been no sooner proposed, than given up by him, on the first Objection to it. A very unpromising setting out. The second Object, he but barely touched upon, in general Terms, in the first Account, he gave me of this Conversation ; I might have ANY THING ELSE, that I would ask. This first Discourse with him, was at his own House the 19th of February, the Day after his Arrival from *London*, when I called on him, to welcome him home. That he went no farther at that Time, I suppose, was owing to the cool Recepti-

on I gave his Overtures, on this Subject; I own I was piqued to find he had been dabling, and more so, that he had made free with my Name. I answered him, that the Circumstances of my being brought into Parliament, was by no Means so essential in my Eyes, as he had always seemed to consider it. That I did not know, if it was now offered me, whether I would accept it or not; that I was less eager for it, every Day than other; that it was too late in Life for me to wish it; that it would alter my whole Plan; and that my Affairs required Economy rather than Expence. Thus far is true: But then Sir, this was applied to the Point he had started, of my coming into Parliament; not for *Yarmouth*, but for some other Place; and tho' I might have waved these Objections for the Service of my own native Town, and in Compliance with the Desires of my Friends; yet I was not obliged to make this Sacrifice, on any other Motives. But as to the rest of the Conversation, so solemnly introduced; *that it would be a most unhappy Day to me; that my Heart ached more than Mr. B's &c.* I do assert on my Honour, it is all a Forgery of his own. I have indeed sometimes, amongst my Friends, and perhaps when he was present, said, in a laughing Manner, that I began to be frightened, when the Polls ran so near on the last Occasion: but I never entertained, or, to him, or Others, privately, or publickly, expressed a serious Fear, or Dislike, inconsistent with the Pursuit I was openly engaged in.

The Remainder of this Account of the Treaty he had undertaken, was not, as I have said before, communicated to me at this first Visit; but was kept back, till he called upon me, to expostulate about the Affair of the Common-Council-man, which was on the 7th of March. I then found Matters had gone much farther; that the ANY-THING ELSE had been amply discussed, and almost engaged for, by him. He says in his Letter, *that he thought I might not be averse to it on many Accounts*; but thank God, Sir, he was not born to think, or judge for me: I had entertained some Suspicion, that all was not right, from the shuffling and embarrassed Manner, in which he pretended to account for the accidental Meeting in the Street; with the worthy Member; but this retailing to me by
Scraps

Scraps, and at a Fortnight's Interval, a Circumstance, in which my Honour, and my Interest were so nearly concerned, left me no Room to doubt of the Motives, he had acted upon. Was this the *Confidence* he had so *inviolably kept up* towards me on his Part? It was a *Confidence* indeed, but in a Sense very different, from what he would wish to understand it in.

I was warm, Sir, I had Reason, on such Treatment; but I did not explain to him, the real Cause of it; as I had no Intention to give him a Handle to break with me: I directed my Warmth against the Treaty, not the Negotiator; and I talked big, (little Men, when angry, will sometimes do so,) of my Determination, to keep up the Opposition; but I said nothing, which, as I have shown above, I have Reason to be ashamed of.

He says, I mentioned with Resentment, my being appointed High-Sheriff. I own, at that Time, I thought myself not well-used in it: But the Noble Lord, who is at the Head of the County, having since vouchsafed to enter into a voluntary Explanation with me, of the Circumstances that attended it; I hold myself so much honoured by this Condescension of his Lordship, that, agreeably to what I then told him, I will never suffer myself to think of it more.

But the Letter-signer says, I *objected* to the *Offer*, partly that it was not *explicit enough*, and partly that so *many Persons were to be consulted*. I told him indeed, I could enter into no Treaty, were I so disposed, without *consulting my Friends*, in a General, and Publick Manner. But I asked him, at the same Time, if I had ever given him any Grounds to suppose, that I had any Views to a Place, as the Terms of an Accommodation. I added, that if any Thing would induce me to listen to Overtures on this Subject; it must be a Stipulation, that my Friends should enjoy an equal Share of the Favours of the Administration, in this Town, with those of the other Side. This he eagerly caught at, as imagining the Business was settled at last; and assured me with great Warmth, that he

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would

would undertake for the Success of it; and that I should *ask* nothing but what I should obtain: But his Countenance soon changed when I went on in these Words. *Ask?* of whom did you imagine I meant to ask? of ———— and ————, no Sir, I expect to have an equal Right of applying *originally*, to the *Boards, and Offices above*, in the same Manner, as those Gentlemen do. These were *the Terms*, he says, I hinted; but *were such*, as *he knew*, neither *would, nor could be accepted*. Thus ended our Negotiation.

BUT the Letter signer accuses me of *reporting* this Conversation, contrary to a *Promise of Secrecy*: Was ever any Charge so absurd? I was the Person most interested in it; whose Name had been bandied about without any Authority; and was I to keep the Secret of his officious Intermeddling? I might be hurt in my Character with my Friends; I must be lessened in the Opinion of the worthy Member; could it be supposed I was accessary to these Overtures: And what could be more suspicious than my risking these Inconveniences, to preserve his Secret, when it had once come to my Knowledge?

AND yet, on this pretended Breach of Trust, and another of the same kind, equally refuted above, does he found his Justification of revealing, what he calls, private Conversations: But I acquit him of the Charge of betraying; and leave him, to the Alternative, in the two, well-known Lines of Pope, on a similar Occasion.

I have now, got at last through all the Charges he has brought against me; and I flatter myself, I have given them, what You, Sir, and all the World will, I hope, think A PROPER REPLY.

SOME few Matters, interspersed in different Parts of his Work, as Motives, or Justifications of his Conduct, I shall very slightly touch upon.

THE *Good of the Town*, mentioned Page 2d. and explained in Page the 13th, to mean *the Peace of it*, has certainly been an Object

ject always in his View. It was so, no Doubt, in the Beginning of the present Disputes, when his Disappointment made him spirit up, and *inflame* the Opposition to the then Members. The Contests that followed, had no Tendency to disturb *that Peace*, so long as he was strengthening his own private Party, to render himself considerable; and enjoying, unrivalled, the Profits flowing in from these Disputes: But when these artful underhand Dealings began to be suspected; when the Superiority obtained by one Party, had put an End to these lucrative Litigations; the *Peace of the Town* required that he should *go over to the other Side*; and by condescending to undertake the Government of them, and the Direction of their Law Prosecutions, demonstrate his Impartiality, in equally skimming the Cream of both: For nothing excites so strong a Disposition to *Peace*, in private Men, or Parties, as easing them of all the superfluous Incumbrances of Wealth.

HIS Resentment also was satiated by Success; for he had the Vanity to tell a Gentleman, of the first Rank and Distinction in this Town, whose Authority I have to mention it; that HE had carried his Point by driving out ONE of the Members, whom he disliked, and had no Objection to the *Other*, who had come in his Room, This was before the *Ungrateful* Conduct of the Steadies; or the Friendship between us, being *first violated by me*. When the great Leader had thus declared himself satisfied, was it for any one else, to presume to carry on an Opposition? After this Cessation of Arms proclaimed, should any of his Subjects dare to continue the War?

BUT this, Sir, is not the only Instance, in which the exorbitant Vanity of this Man, has put himself on a Par with ONE in every Degree, so much his Superior, as the Right Honourable Person alluded to, thus freely, by him. When from the Vicissitudes, to which even the Great are liable, this Honourable Person had been removed, from a high Station, in December 1755, the *Relation* of the Letter-signer, mentioned some Time since, who had been turned out of a paltry Place in the Customs, was to be set up to insult

Him, by an impertinent Parallel drawn between them ; and a Letter was produced at a publick Club, written in his Name, by this all-accomplished Undertaker, stuffed with low-bred Raillery, and Scraps of School-boys Latin, to congratulate this Honourable Gentleman, on the Similitude of their then Situation : So that even the Kindred of this Man, like the Kindred of the Arabian Prophet, were sprang up to a Level, equal to the highest Birth, and Dignity in the State. That this Letter was not sent, was entirely owing to me : Some Gentlemen were silent ; but I was warm against it ; to the no-small Mortification of the Composer : And I now put in my Claim to this, as an *Obligation*, he is under to me ; that I prevented him from exposing his Emptiness, and Vanity ; and probably preserved him from that Chastisement, which might have followed, on such an unwarrantable Insult on his Betters.

BUT, Sir, if I could ever regret my having preserved, even in the Midst of the Warmth of Opposition, that Decency, and those Feelings, which distinguish real Gentlemen to each other, I should be almost tempted to wish, that this Letter had been sent ; or, at least, that it could be produced at this Moment ; as it must afford so decisive a Proof, to Unbelievers, of the miraculous Improvement, I might almost say, Inspiration, of this Man, since that Time ; or else, that he could not be the Author of the Letter, now under my Consideration.

THE *Misfortunes*, which since our last Contest, have befallen the *Town in general*, and so many of *my Friends* in particular, I certainly, in every Light, must feel and lament ; but that these have, even in the remotest Degree, been owing to our Election Disputes, as insinuated Page the 13th ; I utterly deny. What Effect these Circumstances might have had, on the Disposition of the opponent Parties, on the next occasion, I won't pretend to determine : It is probable they would have had their Weight : And sure, this was a Reason, to have suffered Things to take their natural Course, had *the Peace of the Town*, and the *restoring Harmony among his Neighbours*, been the real Motives of this Man's Proceedings. But if the

Flame

Flame was allowed to die out of itself, it was of no Advantage to him, that he had kindled it ; His Interest required that He should avail himself, of appearing to be the great Author of both ; to this every other Consideration was to be sacrificed : And I doubt whether his new Friends will find themselves more beholden to him, for his late, than for his former Conduct in these Affairs.

THE Prosperity of the Town, so plausibly defined to depend on it's Connections with Men, *powerful enough to help the Unfortunate* ? or in other Words, to procure them Places ; is surely calculated to impose on only the merest Novice in these Matters. Whenever did the *Unfortunate* succeed ; if the Serviceable, and the Important, put in their Claim for Favours ? And under which of these Descriptions, did the Letter-signer stand, when the ever-memorable Application was made in his Behalf ?

As to the *Torrent of Abuse* said to be *poured out* against him, from *the Day* of his pulling off the Mask, by deserting, and betraying the Friends, whom he had *formed and managed*, harangued, and sung, as he flattered himself, into an absolute Subservience to his Dictates ; it is no Wonder They should be exasperated, when they discovered the Duplicity, the Treachery, and the Contempt, with which they had been treated.—But if I *considered* it as *an Act of Hostility*, I was certainly the tamest, and most submissive Enemy, he could wish to be opposed to. I met him on the Key, the very Morning after this memorable Measure, and conversed with him, as freely and familiarly, as ever : At the publick Exercise of the Militia at Norwich, in Whitsun-week, which was two Months after, I went up and spoke to him at Table, with Civility, nay with good-natured Raillery ; as a worthy Friend of his, and mine, who was present, cannot have forgot. Indeed, as I had heard he complained of my Ill-usage of him, in the Affair of the Common-Council-man ; I endeavoured to clear myself, on that Head, to such Friends, as fell in my Way, by showing, that I had not intermeddled in it at all : For, I suppose, I was not to sit down quietly, under the Imputation of Ingratitude ; a Charge, Sir, which I apprehend,

hend reflects highly on the Character of a Gentleman ; how lightly soever he may think of it ; as it is not a Crime cognizable in the Courts of Law ; I say, Sir, I was not to sit down under it, only from a Scruple, that my necessary Defence would expose the Weakness of the Reasons, by which he pretended to palliate his Change of Principles and Conduct.

THE *Insult under his Window*, I should not have thought worth taking Notice of ; as the Circumstance of the Place was accidental, being the common Walk of the Gentlemen in that Neighbourhood ; and what was said was certainly intended to be carried to him, or it would not have been mentioned in the Company then met together : But the very Words themselves had no Reference to any one Fact inserted, or alluded to, in his Letter ; and consequently are scarce a Part of our present Dispute. The Words were spoken, on the Evening of the 29th of August last ; and he has no more Pretence to alledge them, as a Justification of his shameless Behaviour, that Morning, than he can plead the Asperity, with which I think myself intitled, and obliged to treat him, in this Reply, as a Motive for his addressing to me, the Letter which gave the Provocation to it.

THE Transactions indeed of that Day deserve a History by themselves ; I wish some proper Pen would undertake it. I will only say, that the Daring to mention *the Peace of the Town*, by one, who was, and is the great Author, and Leader of all the Animosity, and Confusion, wherein this unhappy Place has been so deeply involved, ever since that Date, can be equalled by nothing, but the Sincerity and Tenderneſs practiſed by the Inquisitors, in the Church of *Rome*, who when they deliver over the condemned Criminals, to be burned at the Stake, always intreat the ſecular Judges, with many pious Prayers, that their Lives may be ſpared.

HIS Defence againſt the *Charge of having deſerted his Party*, is ſo extremely ridiculous, as ſcarce to deſerve any Remark. His *Principles of Duty and Allegiance to the preſent Government* are the ſame

same as ever : It would have been just as much to the Purpose, to have told us he had not changed his Religion, or renounced his Baptism. But his Argument about Principles is just upon a Par, with that of a Man born blind, who should deny the Existence of Colours : He has nothing within him, can excite such Ideas ; and therefore naturally concludes, no such are any where else to be found.

BUT, for my Part, Sir, who from a narrow and confined Plan of Education, was never indulged in such a convenient Latitude of Sentiments ; I have always been taught to pay a stronger Regard, to Principles, than to Men ; and am vain enough to flatter myself, the former have been the Motives for my Conduct thro' Life, without wanting the additional Spur of personal Resentment, either on my own, or my Family's Account.

I have always considered a House of Commons, as most likely to promote the publick Good, and answer its great Intention, in the excellent Plan of our Constitution, when composed of Members free from, and independent, of the Influence of Places, and Expectations.

I have always thought a Town, which enjoys the Right of sending Members to Parliament, best consults its own Advantage, as well as Honour, when it entrusts the Defence of its Interests, and Privileges, to some of its Inhabitants, or Neighbours, if any can be found qualified for that Service ; rather than to Strangers, however powerful in *Family*, or *Connections*.

I am thoroughly convinced, that the oftner the Constitution is brought back, to its original Principle of frequent Elections, the more free and incorrupt will that Branch of the Legislature be, which is the Object of them.

THESE three fundamental Principles have been the Rule of my Conduct, both in regard to myself, and others ; and I am confident will justify every Step, of a publick Nature, in which I have been engaged.

engaged. How I have carried on these Contests, when once entered into them, some Circumstances have appeared, in the Course of this Reply ; to which I cannot pretend to add any more, after having already trespassed beyond all Bounds on Your Patience, and the Reader's, in a perpetual Egotism of 40 Pages. Let the Letter-signer produce *one single* Instance, of a Voter corrupted, threatened, persuaded to violate his Promise, or solicited to break thro' his Family Connections, or Dependancies, by me ; (or attempted, or permitted to be so, as far as my Knowledge of such Matters could reach,) and I will give up all the Dispute between us, and submit to stand, in the disingenuous and ungrateful Light, in which he has endeavoured to represent me. But, if I appear to have been consistent, in my Entrance into, in my Management of and in my Perseverance in, the political System I have embraced ; I trust, I shall not suffer, in the Character I once bore, because a deligning and disappointed Man has not found me tractable to his selfish Purposes ; and for that Reason, wants to blast what he could neither undermine, nor corrupt.

BUT I have done with him, Sir, not only for this Occasion, but for ever. I have been led on, much farther than I designed, in laying open his Character and Views, because I found his Detection involved with my Defence ; and having amply, I hope, cleared my publick Conduct to the World, I was not willing to suffer the Charge of Ingratitude, towards a private Person, to stand unanswered against me. However, I do not mean to engage in an endless Paper War ; with Reluctance I took up the Pen, with great Pleasure I lay it finally down : Nor will I be provoked, by aught he can write, to resume it, in this Dispute. The Impartial and Unprejudiced will judge sufficiently, from the Facts here exhibited, and to them only I write. Cavil and Chicane have their Admirers ; and I leave him the full and unrivalled Possession of such.

I have taken up too much of Your Time already, to dare to trespass farther by an Apology ; and only hope, that at the End of
this

this Vindication, addressed, dear Sir, to You, by Your kind Allowance, You will not be ashamed to see the Name of

Your most obliged Friend, and

faithful humble Servant,

YARMOUTH,
Jan. 15, 1760.

RICHARD FULLER.

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